

# New India

— FORTNIGHTLY —

FOUNDED BY DR. ANNIE BESANT IN 1914

Vol. I No. 3.

15 NOVEMBER 1946

FOUR ANNAS

## EDITORIAL BOARD

N. SRI RAM

JAMSHED NUSSERWANJI

ROHIT MEHTA

G. R. VENKATRAM

## THE INDIA OF TOMORROW

BY ANNIE BESANT

It is not the right way now to tread only in the footprints of the past, simply to re-introduce what has been. Your duty is to be inspired by the same spirit that made the past great, and in that spirit to shape the form suitable for the India of tomorrow. Trust to life, to the living spirit. We were not there to guide the life, when it made the glorious past. Life can be trusted, for it is divinely guided, and all we have to do is to co-operate with it. Study life's tendencies and work with them, but it is life that builds, not men. If a form does not succeed it will be broken; and you should be glad in the breaking of the useless form, as you should be glad in the form that means success. Failure often means winning, and it needs dozens, nay hundreds, of attempts before the perfect masterpiece shines out in full. Trust life; that is the great lesson for these days of change, for change is coming, change from every side. Those changes that are good will endure, and you must be very patient while they are in the making. Be full of hope and full of courage.

### India. A Nation

There is a new form to be built here, a form to be which has never yet been built, and that is India herself as one nation. As one nation, she exists in the world of mind. As one nation, she has never yet existed on the physical plane, but the day of her birth is near. Many States and Kings have

been, many Maharajas, Rajas, and sometimes one Raja, great beyond his fellows, has held a wide imperial sway. But never yet has there been one India from North to South, from East to West. But she is coming. That one India, when she comes, will have her head crowned with the Himalayas, and her feet will be bathed in the waters that wash the shores of Tuticorin; she will stretch out her right hand to Burma and Assam, and her left hand to Kathiawar and Baluchistan. That India has to be born. How? First, by believing in her with a strenuous faith, for faith is a mighty power; and then by thinking of her and aspiring after her as an ideal. For what a man thinks becomes actual in practice. And never yet was a nation born that did not begin in the spirit, pass to the heart and the mind, and then take an outer form in the world of men. That India, the sound of her feet is on the mountains, and soon the rising eastern sun shall glow upon her forehead. Already she is born in the mind of men.

### "I am an Indian"

But let your thought for unity be potent and resolute; learn to drop sectarian divisions; learn to drop provincial divisions and animosities; leave off saying: "I am a Madrasi; I am a Punjabi; I am a Bengali; I am an up-country man"; leave all that behind and teach your boys and girls to say,



"I am an Indian". Out of the mouths of the children thus speaking shall be born the India of tomorrow. Many religions will grow within her: not only her own parent religion, but others too will be woven into her being. Hindu and Musalman must join hands, for both are Indians. Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, Christians, must join hands, for all are Indians. In the India of the future, all men of every faith must join. If India is to be the spiritual light of the future, in her must be focussed the light that comes from every faith, until in the prism of India they are all united into the one light which shall flood with sunlight the world, and all lights shall blend in the Divine Wisdom. That is our work.

### India's Coming

My Brothers, I am now talking to you, but this thing will not be made by talking. It is made by living. I would not dare to speak to you and offer you counsel if I did not strive to live that which I advise. Day by day, week by week, month by month, I strive to shape my life on the noble models which may serve the land, and in serving India will serve Humanity; for greater than any land is Humanity, and greater than any one people is the Race of whom all peoples are but branches; and if we have such hopes of future India, it is because we believe that her coming will be a new light to the world. If India's humiliation has been, in a very

real sense, the riches of the world—for this has been the means of spreading India's thoughts in the most widely-spoken tongue of the world; to the North and South, East and West, all round the habitable globe—what shall it be for Humanity when India herself in her new glory is born into the world? India, from whose lips, in this land of the Rishis, came the religion that uplifts and spiritualizes, the philosophy that illumines and the science that trains; India, from whose mind, throughout the world of mind, came those great systems of thought which are now recognized as the noblest products of the human intellect; India, whose feet once passed through many States, and made every one of them fertile, prosperous, and wealthy; India, who was perfect in spirit and mind; when that India is born into the full vision of the eyes of men, perfect in body, is it too much to say that her coming will be as life from the dead? That is the glorious goal, for which we work; that is the splendid hope, that cheers our labour; that is the sublime aspiration, that rises perpetually to the ears of the Devas. For India's coming means the spiritualizing of humanity; India's thinking means the lifting of thought on to a higher level; India's prosperity shall be the justification of religion, the justification of philosophy, as part of the life of a nation; and the world shall be redeemed from materialism, because India is awake.

### May He Soon Come Back

India has lost a great son and a noble servant in the passing of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on Tuesday, 12th November 1946, at his residence in the Hindu University in Benares. With his passing away, the last great figure of the first gallant band that pioneered the cause of India's freedom for over six decades, commencing from the eighties of the last century, has been removed from the scene of India's public life. An ardent Congressman since the inception of that august body, and twice its President, a brilliant lawyer and journalist, a great

reformer and educationist, his monumental achievement in life was the Hindu University of Benares, founded and nurtured on the nucleus of the Central Hindu College, handed over to him in 1916 by our illustrious leader, Dr. Annie Besant. No catalogue of his achievements in the various fields of India's public life can be complete, because his noble and beneficent influence was exercised and felt in every sphere of nation-building activity. While respecting the customary way of wishing our departed countryman

(Continued on p. 6)



## New India

Benares

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*I plead to you, Hindus and Muslims of the Congress and men of the League, to join in a common cry. One is the Motherland, one is the Nation. Two nations cannot co-exist on the same soil. We cannot have a Hindu nation and a Musalman nation in India. We must have one Indian Nation from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from Bengal to Kathiawar.*

—Annie Besant.

### A Great Experiment

Experiments in Truth lead one more and more to the realization of that which is real and essential. Experiments in Brotherhood likewise lead acknowledgedly more and more to the realization of that great ideal of human unity that is the ultimate aim of all religions and cultures. Such experiments in Brotherhood, that on the negative side help to chasten the pride of parties and eliminate the spirit of stubbornness and meaningless lack of compromise, are worth undertaking any number of times by peoples and governments, no matter how delicately perilous the relations might seem at the outset, and no matter how little may seem the success achieved in each experiment.

It is from this point of view that we consider the formation of the present National Government at the Centre as a great experiment in Brotherhood. This experiment must be made to succeed, because not only India, but the whole world is tired of war, mutual distrust and strife. The success of the experiment is essential not only for the sake of India but for the sake of the peace and prosperity of the whole world. India today stands spot-lighted by the world, because there is a growing realization that India, with her tried and proved ideals of a virile stable civilization and culture, is the salvation of the warring nations of the world.

How pointedly has this view been brought out by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, the celebrated American writer and thinker! He

states in a recent special message to the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*:

In the darkness of these times, it is comforting and inspiring to see India lifting high the torch of Freedom. No breakdown here! No dimming of the fair vision by a liberated people! No compromise on the issue of national independence! I could wish that we Americans had such a struggle as now shakes India, if only for the sake of awakening and purifying our souls....

India, by her struggle for liberty, is opening a new era of Freedom, Justice, Brotherhood and Peace. Her cause is the cause of Humanity trodden by a new and dreadful bondage. Let India gain her freedom, as she must and will, and we shall all be saved. So do true men everywhere look to India this day as the turning point of a whole world's destiny.

Such is the hope of the world in India of even so-called highly civilized and advanced nations of the world. Glorious, therefore, is the opportunity of India to make a success of her present experiment in Brotherhood, to become the torch-bearer of the world's Freedom.

\* \* \*

No nation in the world, held in subjection for centuries, started on a new career in a semblance of Freedom with such universal goodwill as did India but a little while ago; and yet no government in the world was called upon to undertake more onerous responsibilities and risks of administration than it fell to the lot of the members of India's first National Government. Chastened patriots as the team composing our National Cabinet at the Centre are, no risk was considered too hazardous by any of them to be undertaken for the sake of the dear Motherland, in whose continued and unflinching service every one of them perhaps has spent a life-time, holding back nothing.

Much as one would expect these risks to lessen day by day, they are unfortunately increasing on the other hand. We have no doubt that within the limitations in which



We most heartily endorse the appeals made by some of India's principal leaders, day after day, in the pages of these journals, for contributions to such funds. These funds provide an opportunity to the anxious many to help the sufferers of human bestiality. Men, women and children have been stranded without shelter or support; they need every assistance. It is the duty of every one, no matter to what community or denomination he belongs, to subscribe liberally to these Relief Funds. And likewise, it is the duty of all those who collect and administer such funds or are otherwise engaged in this noble work to afford relief to all sufferers irrespective of caste, creed, or community, as humanitarianism can admit of no communal distinctions. —G. R. V.

### Separate Electorates

"The whole system of parties based on religion and not on programmes is vicious, and democracy can never flourish under such conditions," states Sir Chimanlal Setalvad concluding a masterly contribution to a Symposium on 'Self-Determination for Muslims', that appeared in a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review*. Some day or other we shall have to give up the pernicious principle of separate electorates in a Free India that would admit of no perpetuation of party strifes based on communalism.

Says Sir Setalvad: "Some method should be adopted whereby ultimately water-tight compartments based on religion may disappear. At the Second Round Table Conference, I suggested that any member of a community for which separate electorates are provided should have the liberty by a proper declaration to go on the general register. It is inequitable that Muslims, who consciously disbelieve in separate electorates should be denied the right to exercise self-determination and go on the general register."

### Grateful Remembrance

At a meeting held in The Theosophical Society, Benares, on Tuesday, 12th November 1946, the following resolution was passed:

"This meeting of the residents in the compound of The Theosophical Society, Benares, places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. In his passing, the country has lost a great patriot who, for sixty years, served with utter unselfishness the cause of our Motherland. His glorious services in India's political and educational fields will remain a source of inspiration to the present generation as also to generations yet unborn. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has, by the example of his beautiful life and his unstinted services, put the whole country in a deep debt of gratitude to him. India has lost today one of her most illustrious sons whose wise guidance and statesmanship she needed particularly now, when she is on the threshold of her freedom. His passing has created a void which it will be difficult to fill. May his life inspire us to strive with greater zeal and enthusiasm for the cause which was so dear to his heart—the cause of India's political and spiritual resurgence.

"This meeting deeply sympathizes with the members of his family in their great loss—the loss which is shared by all the peoples of this vast sub-continent."

(*May He Soon Come Back : concluded from p. 2*)

much-deserved rest on the other side, we would like to hope for his early return in a young and vigorous body, so that he may be able to work and stand by our country at this great hour in her history. Great karmayogins like our beloved Malaviyaji know of no rest save in the service of their fellow-beings. And, India cannot afford to lose such sons for ever.



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Much as one would expect these risks to lessen day by day, they are unfortunately increasing on the other hand. We have no doubt that within the limitations in which



the Cabinet works, the Ministers will do all that is humanly possible for them to tackle the immediate perils facing the Country.

We strongly urge that the Government at the Centre and in the several Provinces should first concentrate all their attention on eliminating the immediate peril facing the Country, namely, the peril of communal strife that leads us nowhere.

\* \* \*

The new Interim Government has, however, acquitted itself very well, even within the short period of its existence, through its sore trials both within the Cabinet and in the country outside. Its current parliamentary work has been admirable, considering the vague and delicate nature of the relations subsisting between the two major groups who constitute the Cabinet. In all the vital, though non-contentious, issues, that came up before the Central Assembly, the Ministers have acted as a Cabinet, displaying remarkable abilities of statesmanship and a spirit of compromise and adjustment needed to fit themselves in the new order. What has happened so far at the Centre does justify the hopes of those of us who have always held that the most effective way to achieve enduring unity is for the several parties to come together on a programme of construction for the immediate present, leaving the ultimates to be settled when better conditions prevail. In the handling of this immediate task, the Centre has done a very delicate job very dexterously. And here is a lesson for the Provinces to take. Considerations of prestige or the spirit of exclusiveness should be sacrificed for the sake of Peace in India, so that the several Governments, functioning in the Provinces, may instil confidence and sense of security in the people. Peace must be restored by all means immediately, for only then will the Interim Government be enabled to take the next step towards Constitution-making. For the smooth and effective functioning of the Constituent Assembly an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence is necessary, with peace reigning in the

Country. The parties in the Central Government are there coalescing acknowledgedly to restore peace and order in the Country, and also to pave the way for the early meeting of those who are to be charged with the task of framing a suitable Constitution for India, so that there may be established in India ere long a stable Government and stable peace. All questions of long-term nature are to be considered by that body. The League and the Congress leaders should make it clear to all agitators that in the meantime a perfect truce must be observed by party leaders outside the governments so that there may be no incitements and excitements that so disfigure the face of our country today. —G.R.V.

### Combating the Cloth Famine

It is difficult to understand the new Textile policy of the Madras Government by which they have decided not to sanction the starting of new Textile mills in the Province of Madras and not to permit the increase of spindles in the existing mills. India is at present experiencing a great cloth shortage and there are no signs of its early end. We do appreciate the enthusiasm of the Madras Ministry to encourage Khadi production but, as was pointed out during the discussions in the Council of State on the subject of India's industrial policy, there is scope today in this country for the expansion of both Khadi and the cotton Textile industry. The cloth rations granted today to the people of Madras are very meagre—12 yards of cloth a year for every adult member of a family. We are sure thousands of people in Madras are not able to obtain even this absurdly low ration. Today, in India, even the minimum cloth requirements of the people are not satisfied. Our popular ministries must not only aim at fulfilling this minimum need but to raise it so that large masses of people may be properly clothed. For this, Khadi production alone is not enough. As a matter of fact, both khadi and mill productions will have to be carried on at top speed if India's cloth problem is to be solved.



It should not be forgotten that Khadi can develop only as a subsidiary village industry. It can never take the place of the Textile Mill Industry in this country. Besides, it would be suicidal to divert the attention of the Indian peasant from agriculture to cottage industry. The first concern of all Provincial Governments should be to improve agriculture and to put it on proper basis by introducing co-operative farming. Khadi production must, therefore, remain a subsidiary cottage industry for villages. As such its scope will be limited. To expect every family in the village and in the town to take to Khadi production is too much—it will not happen and the Government which bases its industrial policy on such assumptions is living in dreamlands—away from realities. India's millions can understand political freedom only in terms of economic benefit, and cloth is one of the most primary needs of the individual. When such enormous cloth famine is facing us, it is criminal on the part of a Government to put handicaps in the way of increased production of mill-cloth. We have no doubt the Madras Government will revise its policy in the interest of the people. —R.M.

### **Vicious Propaganda**

There was recently held a debate on India in the *New York Herald Tribune* 'Forum' in which Mr. Krishna Menon, Secretary of the India League in London, now in New York as a member of the Indian Delegation to the UNO, took part along with Mr. Hassan Ispahani, the personal representative of Mr. M.A. Jinnah, and Lord Inverchapel, the British Ambassador in Washington. While Mr. Menon, representing the Indian nationalist point of view, and the British Ambassador in Washington, dealt with the present transition as leading to independence and friendly settlement with Britain, with the preservation of the integrity and unity of the Country, Mr. Ispahani, presenting the League viewpoint, said that "the Muslim League had entered the new Government under protest—principally to retrieve the machinery of Govern-

ment at least partially from the monopolistic control of the Congress." He added, the report states, that "the struggle for Pakistan would now be carried on within as well as outside the Government."

Indeed Mr. Ispahani is more royalist than the king himself. The League's policy now is said to be 'Responsive Co-operation' although the League Council has not yet taken the Country into its confidence by a categorical declaration of its revised policy. But its entry into the Interim Government implies its acceptance of the long and short-term plans of the Cabinet Mission, which has ruled out Pakistan from the political programme of the Country—at least for the present and in the manner in which Pakistanists seem to mean that term. Under the circumstances, therefore, the exposition of the aims and programme of the League in entering the new Government, as represented by no less a person than the personal representative of the League's Chief, could have only the value of vicious propaganda. The American public need hardly be reminded of such a recent event as the historic interview of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru with Mr. Jinnah at Bombay before the Interim Government was formed. It was the League Chief who spurned aside the Congress invitation to the League for co-operation. Everyone still remembers the first broadcast that Pt. Jawaharlal made immediately on assumption of office inviting again the co-operation of the League and assuring it that the door was kept open for entry into the Government. Do these acts justify the Leaguer's charges against the Congress of attempting to secure "Monopolistic control" of the machinery of Government?

—G.R.V.

### **Help the Victims**

Some leading dailies in North India such as "The Leader" and "The Bharat", "The National Herald" and "The Amrita Bazaar Patrika" have started "Relief Funds" to help the unfortunate victims of the communal carnage in Calcutta and in East Bengal.



We most heartily endorse the appeals made by some of India's principal leaders, day after day, in the pages of these journals, for contributions to such funds. These funds provide an opportunity to the anxious many to help the sufferers of human bestiality. Men, women and children have been stranded without shelter or support; they need every assistance. It is the duty of every one, no matter to what community or denomination he belongs, to subscribe liberally to these Relief Funds. And likewise, it is the duty of all those who collect and administer such funds or are otherwise engaged in this noble work to afford relief to all sufferers irrespective of caste, creed, or community, as humanitarianism can admit of no communal distinctions. —G. R. V.

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